

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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A New President - Same Old System

ON MARCH 4 President Herbert Hoover will leave the White House, mourned by none as far as the masses of the people of this country are concerned. On the same day Franklin D. Roosevelt, carried in on the landslide of last November, will move in.

Millions of workers and farmers in this country place great faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt; they have, indeed, fixed all their hopes on the "new deal." They allowed themselves to get drunk on the Democratic candidate's high-sounding phrases about the "forgotten man"; what will now be the cold reality of the morning after inauguration?

Immediately after the elections, Roosevelt himself told us what to expect. At that time, the Democratic headquarters issued a semi-official declaration to the following effect: "Drastic changes in the Administration (Hoover) policies are far from the mind of President-Elect Roosevelt, lest a sudden break be not only attended by serious risks but also send shivers of fear thru business. Caution seems certain, therefore."

Everything Roosevelt and his friends have done since has only confirmed these words. Governor Lehman, Roosevelt's closest political friend, is "considering" a sales tax, which the Democrats so heartily "denounced" in the elections. Roosevelt falls over himself assuring us that he will follow in the footsteps of Hoover in his foreign policy, in other words, that he will continue to drive forward America's imperialist aggression all over the world. The new President "refuses to make a statement" on what he intends to do about unemployment, while he is quite categorical in reject-

Workers Must Build Labor Party!

ing the immediate payment of the bonus. His policy on public utilities and power is such as to evoke the warm endorsement of the big capitalist trusts, while his farm program has, so far, consisted of nothing but "sympathetic" phrases.

In other words, all the talk about the "new deal" was just a lot of pre-election bunk! Roosevelt will not make any "drastic changes in Hoover's policies"—because Big Business objects! In other words, the jobless will continue to starve as un-



"Don't you remember me, Mr. Roosevelt? I'm the Forgotten Man!"

der Hoover; the farmers will continue to go broke as under Hoover; the workers will continue to have their unions smashed and wages cut as under Hoover; hungry people raising their voice in protest will continue to get shot down and gassed as under Hoover; colored people will continue to be lynched and jim-crowed as under Hoover; the big railroads and banks and trusts will continue to fatten off the public funds as under Hoover; this country will be driven headlong towards another imperialist war as under Hoover. The "new deal" is already turning out to be the same old fraud! The "forgotten man" still remains the worker and the poor farmer and nobody is going to forget him as effectively and as completely as Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The bitter experience in store for the working people in the coming year will convince increasing sections of them that switching from one capitalist party to another, from one Wall Street controlled outfit to another, is no way out for the masses. For the workers and farmers the only way out is to break away altogether from the two big parties of capital and to organize a strong and fighting party of labor. Labor must issue its political declaration of independence. It must tear the bonds tying it to the chariot of Big Business. It must set out on its own path politically guided by its own class interests and aspirations.

The great need of the day is a real Labor Party, a party based on the trade unions, labor political parties, workers organizations of all sorts, as well as associations of working farmers, a party out to defend the immediate interests of the great toiling masses of this country. For a Labor party!

ALABAMA FRAME UP BARED

Testimony In Scottsboro Case Proved Fraud

New York City.

That the "testimony" of Ruby Bates, one of the white prostitutes on whose evidence the eight Scottsboro Negro boys were condemned to death for "rape," was false and was forced from her by the local police under threat of imprisonment, became clear on February 13, 1933 as a result of the sensational disclosure by the International Labor Defense of a letter the girl had written to her sweetheart on January 5, 1932. In this letter Ruby Bates states that "those policemen made me tell a lie" and that "these Negroes did not touch me"; she declares she was

(Continued on Page 7)

ATTENTION!

The new headquarters of the
COMMUNIST PARTY
(Opposition)
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
WORKERS AGE
are
51 West 14th Street
New York City

Workers Press and Germany

A Comparison Of The Record Of Labor Papers

Every great social crisis brings into new and bold relief the attitude of the various political tendencies in the labor movement to the great problems of the day and forces a more clearly defined re-formulation of views. The German crisis today is such a touchstone above all others, and it would be well for the workers of this country to examine carefully what what the various workers political parties and groups have to say on this question.

THE RECORD OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The voice of the Socialist press in this country shows us clearly enough how it was that the German Social-democracy served, at every stage, as the stepping-stone in the triumphal ascent of Fascism: self-deception and the deception of the masses, the constant acceptance of the "lesser evil" to the point of swallowing ever greater evils. In the "New Leader" of February 4, 1933, Norman Thomas expresses in classical form the shallow liberalism that is brazenly paraded as "militant" Socialism. "Maybe some of his colleagues (the ultra-reactionary von Papen and the murderous Hugenberg—Editor), the sobering weight of responsibility, his own essential weakness and his party's lack of real unity, will tame the boastful Hitler and prevent him from starting an anti-Semitic terror or a militaristic rampage (note: not a word of what the Nazi regime means for the workers and their organizations.—Editor). I can't see much hope except that the German Social-democrats will now, after their desperate efforts to save the constitution (by supporting the Article 48-emergency decree regime to the bitter end.—Editor), shift their emphasis from constitutionalism to Socialism. . . . For this tragedy we Americans ("We Americans" J. P. Morgan and you.—Editor) have plenty to answer. By washing our (!) hands of responsibility in Germany for the reparations situation . . . we (!) contributed to the conditions which gave Hitlerism a fertile soil."

On February 3, the New York Socialist "Forward"

could still sing the old song: "Hindenburg's authority will help the Hitlerites precious little . . . for everybody knows that Hindenburg has not become a Nazi . . . HINDENBURG HAS NOT GIVEN HITLER THE SLIGHTEST DICTATORIAL POWER . . . Hindenburg has not violated the constitution and Hitler is not yet a dictator but a CONSTITUTIONAL CHANCELLOR." In the "New Leader" of February 11, 1933, S. Lipsitz, editor of the "Volkszeitung," chimes in: "If Hitler is not dictator (this is written days after Hitler's rise to power.—Editor), this is due to the stubborn constitutional fight of German labor." Even now, while the German workers are under the dark shadow of the Fascist terror, while the Nazis are vigorously carrying thru their program of economic, social and political enslavement, the Socialist spokesmen continue their old game of lulling the masses to inaction and defeat, of paralyzing speculations on the "moderation" of Hugenberg and the "constitutionalism" of Hindenburg. Anything to avoid militant struggle!

THE RECORD OF THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY

Never was the bankruptcy of the official Communist tactics so obvious as in the crude form in which they are defended in the "Daily Worker". On January 30, 1933, the "Daily Worker" assured us of the "rapid disintegration" in Nazi ranks—and this on the very eve of Hitler's triumph. Like the Socialist leaders, but from the other direction, the strategists of defeat heading the official Communist movement insist it is an illusion to speak of the triumph of Fascism with the rise of Hitler to power. Why, we have had Fascism all along! "The von Papen government (was) itself a Fascist government" ("D. W.", Feb. 14, 1933)—and then, of course, so was the Bruening emergency-decree regime and perhaps the Mueller Socialist-Center government that preceded it! There's nothing new, nothing special! No wonder, therefore, that the "Daily

(Continued on page 2)

JAPS THREATEN QUIT LEAGUE

U. S. Swings League As Jehol Is Invaded

Faced with a unanimous resolution of the League of Nations Assembly condemning its policy in Manchuria, the Japanese government has withdrawn its representatives from the League and has announced its intention of leaving that organization.

This decisive action on the part of the Japanese government was taken because of the Leagues repeated opposition to the Japanese imperialist adventure in Manchuria and because of its substantial endorsement of the Lytton report. On February 17 the League Committee of Nineteen released a ten-hour radio broadcast sharply condemning Japan and demanding the evacuation of Manchuria.

Meanwhile, the puppet state of Manchukuo has delivered a Japanese ultimatum to Marshal Chang Hsiao-liang demanding the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from the Province of Jehol and threatening invasion. The Nanking government has promised resistance but its general bankruptcy and impotence have made impossible any decisive action.

The sudden shift of France, which was pro-Japanese, and Great Britain, which was vacillating, to a pronounced anti-Japanese position is everywhere regarded as due

(Continued on Page 7)

Join the Communist Opposition!

We publish below the statement of adhesion to the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) of the Provisional National Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Opposition. The event is of great political significance. It is eloquent testimony to the growing political influence and prestige of the Communist Opposition, which is fast becoming the effective center for all healthy and constructive revolutionary forces in this country.—Editor.

STATEMENT OF UKRAINIAN OPPOSITION

Detroit, Michigan.

We, former members of the Ukrainian National Language Fraction of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., hereby declare our affiliation with the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition). In doing so, we are urging all working men and working women in the United States, particularly the workers of the Ukrainian nationality, to take note of the fact that for some time we have been working in a constructive way to help develop the revolutionary movement, to help strengthen the movement of the class conscious workers in the direction of Communism amongst the Ukrainian toiling people in the United States.

For years we have been active giving our all to the revolutionary workers movement of which we have been and will continue to be an organic part. In our ranks will be found comrades who are amongst the founders and builders of the Communist movement in the United States and who have, for many years, even before the organization of the Communist movement, been in the front ranks of the revolutionary forces in European working class ranks.

We have been expelled from the Communist Party because of our resistance to the mechanical and destructive methods of leadership and the false sectarian policies which the Communist Party officials sought to impose on us in our untiring efforts to win over the Ukrainian working men for Communism. We have made every effort to avoid divisions in the Communist ranks. We have done everything possible to avoid friction within the party and to maintain the unity of the party.

The party leadership, in despair, seeking to force upon us a sectarian line, in which they themselves had very little faith, resorted to bureaucratic measures to break and demoralize the ranks of the Ukrainian workers. The party leadership went so far in its effort to divide the ranks of the revolutionary workers that it even extended its destructive tactics to the field of fraternal organizations. For example, several months ago, when we Ukrainian comrades made application for affiliation to the International Labor Defense, we were refused admission. Fortunately, we have been able to pre-

vent the party leadership from bringing chaos into the ranks of the Ukrainian workers in Detroit and in a number of other cities by maintaining unity and the Communist prestige amongst these workers.

Despite the official Communist Party's campaign of slander against us and its frantic attempts to interfere with our Communist work, we have been able to increase our activities among the Ukrainian workers, especially for the defense of the Soviet Union and the support of the class struggle in the United States.

It is because we recognize fully that our struggle for Communist unity and unity of the working class against capitalist reaction is an integral part of the struggle for unity now being waged by the Communist Party (Opposition) and the International Communist Opposition that we have decided, after thorough investigation of all the problems and issues in the crisis in the Communist International, to make this affiliation.

Our work to win over the Ukrainian masses in the United States for the revolutionary class struggle is work inseparable from the whole task of winning over the American working class for Communism. In taking the step we have decided to take, to join hands with the Communists in the United States of various nationalities who are working, in the face of great obstacles, for Communist unity, for the restoration of the Communist Party to the Leninist path, and for the strengthening and the unification of the world Communist movement, we pledge ourselves to do our fullest Communist duty. We urge all members of the Communist Party to raise within the party units the question of bringing the party back to a sound tactical course of restoring party democracy, of unifying the entire Communist movement in the United States and throughout the world, so that we can hasten and ensure the day of the victory of the American working class and the entire international proletariat.

For the Provisional National Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Opposition

Benny Prut, Secretary

The S. P. Jobless Conference

New York City.

That the right wing Socialist leaders have taken over, lock, stock and barrel, the worst strong-arm methods of the reactionary trade union officialdom, was demonstrated again at the unemployment conference called by the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party for February 23 at the Rand School. All of the unions and labor organizations among which the S. P. has influence (and there are many of these in New York City) were represented at the gathering. But from the very beginning the reactionary sectarianism of the S. P. leaders became evident. A self-appointed "credentials committee", consisting of Tuvim and Gross, stood downstairs and forcefully excluded all regularly accredited delegates from labor organizations that were the least progressive or left in character! In this way the delegates of the Workers Conference on Labor Legislation, of the Communist Opposition, of the Communist Youth Opposition, of various organizations of working class women, etc., were kept out; indeed, there is good reason to believe that invitations to the conference were sent out only to the "safe" organizations.

However, a number of left wingers got into the conference as representatives of regular labor unions. Louis Nelson, delegate of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., demanded to know by what right the self-appointed "credentials committee" had excluded delegates of genuine workers organizations. Immediately a howl arose and the attempt was made to suppress him. When the order of business was read, some delegates of Local 9, I.L.G.W.U., official Communist Party sympathizers, raised a question as to the necessity of having two S. P. speakers and as to the time provided for discussion. While it was politically foolish of them to try to make an issue of such secondary questions, they certainly had the right to offer their proposals to the conference. Nevertheless, upon signal of the S. P. leaders, the delegates of Local 9 were physically attacked by some "Socialist" gangsters and thrown out of conference. Nelson, who rose to protest against such an outrage, was also attacked and ousted. From then on, the conference continued "peacefully" after all signs of life had been stamped out by the terrorist methods of the S. P. leaders. It was especially "peaceful" because the chairman, Beardsley, refused the floor to

With the Working Youth

The Y. P. S. L. Convention in N. Y.

by Morris Stone

New York City.

The fourteenth annual convention of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York was held a few weeks ago (January 23-29 and February 4-5). In all probability, it has already been forgotten by the delegates who participated, to say nothing of the general membership, so apathetic and so boring were the sessions. The Y. P. S. L. is a strange and vague organization. Within its ranks have gathered some serious, really class conscious young workers and students. But these are lost in the hodge-podge that the Y. P. S. L. presents. Alleged "Marxists", dabbling dilettantes, indignant liberals, enthused Thomasites, these make up the greater portion of the membership. It is from here that the future leaders of the Socialist movement in America will be drawn. Immanent Hillquits and Bergers are already discernible.

From the very opening of the convention, it was quite noticeable that the main business was to fix

rank and file Socialists for fear of what they would say!

It is clear that in their methods and tactics the right wing S. P. leaders are even more crudely sectarian than the official C. P. leaders; here, of course it should be remembered that, while the sectarianism of the C. P. is an expression of a leftist policy, in the S. P. sectarianism becomes a bulwark of extreme conservatism. The sectarianism of one type or the other must be broken down in order to have real labor unity against the employers.

To raise the question of unity of all jobless organizations as well as of the various labor conferences on unemployment, was the main aim of the Communist Opposition delegates to the conference. The resolution that Comrades Lifshitz and Herman had ready for introduction pointed out the harmfulness of competitive jobless organizations, appendages of various political groups and tendencies, and urged their fusion into one broad, really non-partisan movement. The resolution also suggested the merging of the S. P. conference with the Workers Conference for Labor Legislation and the sending of a delegation to the state-wide conference of the latter to take place in Albany on March 5, 6 and 7. The majority of the Communist Opposition delegates was the method used by the Socialist bureaucrats to prevent the question of unity from arising and being discussed.

An analysis of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice of fingerprints of 277,778 arrested by American policemen from February 1 to December 31, 1932, shows that a total of 108,315, or 39.2%, were under 25 years of age. Arrests of persons between 21 and 24 inclusive numbered 53,082, or 19.1%.

YOUNG COMMUNIST

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the policy of the Y. P. S. L. toward the Progressive Miners of America. It was also quite evident that the prevailing spirit at the convention was for recognition and support of this union. The resolutions committee first issued a resolution on the general attitude of the Y. P. S. L. toward the trade union movement. In this resolution, the so-called "neutral" position of the S. P. to the trade unions was hit. "Every member of the Y. P. S. L. and the S. P. in the trade unions must fight on every suitable occasion for independent political action, for unemployment insurance, for clean unionism and for the abolition of the wage system, for the exposure and expulsion of racketeers and grafters, and all Y. P. S. L. members of trade unions be answerable to the Central Committee of the Y. P. S. L. for their activities." This resolution was adopted practically unanimously.

Having, then, outlined this general line, the committee next presented a resolution "on the situation in the coal fields," in which the support of the Y. P. S. L. is pledged to the Progressive Miners of America. As if recognizing the dangers that such a position presents, the resolution insists that any splitting of labor is to be condemned on the "basis of mere differences as to form of organization, political ideology or technical methods." But, of course, the P. M. A. represents an "entirely different" case, and therefore is not a dual organization! And anyway, as was urged on the floor, by no stretch of the imagination can the U. M. W. A. be called a labor organization. Shades of DeLeon!

There was some discussion on the floor. A substitute resolution was introduced from the floor, attacking the "neutrality" position as well as the dual union position. It called upon the Y. P. S. L. to point out to the P. M. A. the implications of dual unionism—the isolation of the more advanced workers from the backward sections, labor splitting, leaving the unions more securely in the hands of the reactionary leaders, etc.—and to urge the P. M. A. to re-enter the U. M. W. A. with the same militant fervor for the avowed purpose of ridding the union of the reactionary Lewis machine. This resolution, however, was defeated by a very great majority.

In another resolution, it was deplored that a call had been sent out for a Progressive Federation of Labor (sent out by the leaders of the P. M. A.) since this tended to "divide the working class by splitting existing unions and... weakening the progressive forces in the labor movement and particularly in the coal fields." This resolution is in direct contradiction to the other resolution. On the one hand, a splitting tactic is endorsed and, on the other hand, this very same splitting tactic is "deplored," the idea being, that your right hand must never know what your left is doing.

Other resolutions adopted were those on the relationship of the Y. P. S. L. to the S. P. (no doubt, this is in expectancy of a fight with the S. P., which has refused to officially endorse the P. M. A.) and one on the Soviet Union, which somewhat reluctantly admits that there are efforts being made in the Soviet Union to abolish capitalism. The liberation of all "working class political prisoners who have not affiliated themselves with the White Guards in any effort to overthrow the Soviet government" is requested, despite the fact that there are many members of the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary parties who, altho they have not allied themselves with the White Guards, have definitely opposed the efforts to build socialism (the same resolution hails!

THE WORKERS PRESS AND THE GERMAN CRISIS

(Continued from page 1)

Worker" (February 17), echoing the official policy of the German Communist Party, can find no better basis for a struggle against the Nazi terror than: "Fight Hitler for bread, potatoes, coal!"—slogans applicable to the most "peaceful" period of capitalism and totally inadequate to the critical situation in Germany today. At a time when the Social-democracy is half illegal, when Social-democratic unions are being threatened with extinction and Social-democratic workers are being shot down on the streets, at a time when the united front of the Communist and Social-democratic organizations is a life-and-death necessity, the "Daily Worker" has the incredible political irresponsibility to declare that the "Social-democratic party... is the main bulwark of the ruling German bourgeoisie" ("D. W." Feb. 14 and 15, 1933). And finally, just as the Socialist reformists cover up their surrender policy with speculations on Hugenberg and Hindenburg, so do the middle-heads of ultra-leftism cover up their political bankruptcy with speculations ("D. W." Feb. 17, 1933) on the "unstable basis of Hitler power", on the "splittings looming" in the Nazi camp, and so on.

THE RECORD OF THE TROTSKYITES

But the most pitiful figure is cut by the Trotskyites. They, who not so long ago ("Militant", July 25, 1931) insisted that it is "absurd" to think that the "imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany", who eagerly informed us that "on the contrary, they (the imperialists) have every reason to reinforce and support the Social-democratic and parliamentary forms", who were so sure (in 1931) that "it has never yet been demonstrated that Fas-

cism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany", these people, who later ("M.", Nov. 12, 1932) saw the "Nazi social reservoir of voting strength well nigh exhausted" so that the Hitlerites "must strive to fulfill their aims by violent seizure of power", these people who branded as "opportunism" the first calls of the Communist Opposition for a united anti-Fascist front, these people who even today ("M.", Feb. 24, 1933) regard Hitler as the "screen" for Hugenberg, who can hopefully assert that "the chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands, who echo the official Communist Party that 'the Social-democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination', under all circumstances all the time, these same people now have the audacity to declare ("M.", Feb. 4, 1933) that "the Left Opposition was the first to sound the alarm signal that Fascism was threatened, that it had to be met by a united front of all workers organizations!" Is this merely shabby self-deception or is it outright political swindling?

THE RECORD OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

The Communist Party (Opposition), on the other hand, raised the question of menace of Fascism in Germany as far back as the end of 1929 ("Revolutionary Age", Dec. 15, 1929). Since then, in article after article, in report after report, we analyzed the grave character of the Nazi menace to the workers of Germany and of the world, and raised the call for a united anti-Fascist front. (A full analysis of the record of the "Workers Age" on Germany will be found in a subsequent issue.)

On the basis of the record of the workers press in this country on the question of German Fascism, let the workers judge the various political tendencies in the labor movement—the Socialist Party, the official Communist Party, the Trotskyites, and the Communist Opposition!

Fascist Dictatorship and Labor

The Fascist dictatorship is here. Based on the so-called Harzburg block, on an alliance with the monarchistic Nationalists, the National-Socialists have taken power. How did this come about, especially in view of the constantly repeated "prophecies" about the "disintegration" of Fascism, confirmed, apparently, by the steady decline in Nazi votes thru several elections? To the capitalist papers, especially to the liberal journals, it seems a perfect mystery; the official Communist Party press refers to the "unbroken successes" of the Communist Party of Germany; the Social-democrats explain it away by saying that Hitler is not "really" in power after all—he is, in fact, a "prisoner" of the more "reasonable" Nationalists!

FASCISM IN POWER

But a fact is a fact! The struggle between the Junker-monarchist clique and the Fascists for hegemony in the camp of reaction, has been decided in favor of Fascism. The Fascist party has received the leading positions in the state apparatus: Hitler is Reichs-Chancellor. Frick is Minister of the Interior, Goering is Prussian Minister with control over the police, and the Reichswehr Minister is a Nazi sympathizer. The top-most heads of the official state apparatus, beginning with Hindenburg, are submitting to the Nazi claims to leadership; the state apparatus is under the command of the Fascist party with the approval of the big capitalists and the big agrarians, both. This is the Fascist dictatorship in cold fact.

The great mistake that the liberal, the Social-democratic and even the official Communist spokesmen have made and are still making is in assuming that the parliamentary struggle exhausts the class struggle, that the elections are the first and last word in politics. As a matter of fact, never were the real motive forces in social and political life more outside of parliament, never was the parliamentary drama more of an empty puppet show, than today in Germany. With this in mind, what has happened in Germany becomes perfectly intelligible.

The Schleicher government was the last attempt of the exploiting class of Germany to resist the Nazis claim to domination. The Schleicher government, like the Papen Cabinet before it, was a government of a small clique of top bureaucrats, generals, big landowners and big capitalists. In an even shorter period of time than its predecessor, it reached a hopeless blind-alley. It was unable to make even an attempt to solve the grave economic problems of German capitalism. It was unable to reconcile the sharp antagonisms between the Junkers and the industrial capitalists. It was unable to meet the growing mood of resistance of the working class. It was unable, above all, to provide an effective mass base for the continued rule of the Ger-

What Nazi Victory Means

man bourgeoisie. Even the Junker-monarchist group split and its decisive elements swung to Fascism. All this only stimulated the inauguration of the Nazi dictatorship.

The Harzburg front was revamped. At the cradle of the new government of Hitler and Papen stood the heavy industrialist exploiters of the Ruhr region. The big landlords collaborated. In order to guarantee continuation of their social and economic rule, of capitalist exploitation in all its forms, the decisive sections of the big bourgeoisie had to appeal for salvation to the National-Socialist movement, with its broad mass base.

THE PROGRAM OF THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

The program of the Fascist dictatorship involves the complete destruction of all the achievements of the German working class won thru decades of struggle at a tremendous sacrifice. The Fascist dictatorship aims to destroy all labor organizations, whether reformist or revolutionary. It aims to slash wages to the bone. It aims to wipe out the trade unions and with them the collective agreements, thereby surrendering the masses of workers to the tender mercies of the exploiters. It

aims to introduce compulsory labor service, thereby reducing the toilers to actual slavery. It aims to supply the big industrialists and landlords with still more generous subsidies at the expense of the people. It aims to rearm German imperialism and to satisfy its newly whetted appetite. It aims to drown every sign of spiritual freedom under a wave of cultural reaction. In other words, the program of the Fascist dictatorship is to supply German capitalism with a way out of its present deadly crisis by making possible the degradation of the standards of the German working people below even those of the early days of capitalism. This capitalist way out of the crisis, championed by the Fascist dictatorship, is to be paid for by the workers with the loss of all political rights, with the reduction of the masses to disfranchised slaves. It would be an unspeakable shame if the German proletariat, with its glorious past and its militant traditions and its powerful organizations, were to meet this fate without the most determined struggle.

LABOR MUST TAKE UP THE CHALLENGE!

The workers should not be deceived by the fact that the Hitler government is revealing its program not all at once but gradually, in one field after another. Things are happening fast enough to show what's ahead. The Communist and Social-democratic organizations are already half illegalized. The trade unions are already half destroyed. Forced labor has already been promised by Hitler. The Fascist terror is already sweeping Germany, leaving a bloody trail behind. The Nazi party is already being systematically incorporated in the state apparatus and being transformed into its instrument. The obvious meaning of Hitler's demonstrative declaration the day after his ascent to power is: a declaration of war against the working class, in the domestic and foreign fields, a threat to tear the labor movement up by its very roots and a hardly disguised bid to the imperialist powers to join in a crusade against the Soviet Union.

The German proletariat must take up the challenge thrown down by the Fascists. There must be no hesitation, no vacillation, or else it will be too late! The labor organizations are not yet destroyed; they still possess fighting power!

The fate of the working class now depends upon whether it can unite all of its organizations, of all political viewpoints, for common resistance to Fascism and for a common counter-offensive against it.

(This is the first of a series of articles on the political crisis in Germany. The second will appear in the next issue).

Why This Silence?

On February 7, 1933, the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) addressed an appeal for a united front "for the purpose of bringing home to the American workers the real meaning of the Nazi victory for them and the danger of the spread of Fascist influence in the United States and for the purpose of rallying to the relief and support of the victims of the bloody Nazi terror in Germany." The appeal was addressed to the leading bodies of the Communist and Socialist parties, of the Trotskyite group, and of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

So far, only the C. P. L. A. has answered, fully approving of the idea and agreeing to join in the united front. The C. P., the S. P. and the Trotskyites have kept silent! In spite of all their phrases about the "need for unity," they refuse to take the most elementary step to form a united anti-Fascist front in this country.

The united anti-Fascist front must be set up in spite of all obstacles!

How Tammany Treats Its Pets

Whose Salaries Are "Protected" From Cuts?

New York City. At least 294 city employees received "special consideration" when the board of Aldermen made its gesture of recently cutting the salaries of all city employees not protected by civil service or special legislation. And—curiously enough—most of these fortunate souls were not only in the higher brackets but were big politicians or friends of the big politicians!

This gross favoritism is revealed by a comparison of the Aldermanic reductions as published in the "City Records" with exempt positions appearing in the 1933 budget. Among the city employees who were "saved" from cuts were eleven Democratic district leaders, the treasurer of Tammany Hall, the election district captain, a brother of former sheriff Thomas M. Farley, and a relative of Boro President Henry Henterberg, of Brooklyn. While the chairman and the three commissioners of the Board of Transportation were allowed to retain the whole of their \$20,000 salaries, the wages of much lower paid workers were ruthlessly slashed. The \$25,000 salary of the Superintendent of School Buildings in the Department of Education went untouched, but nobody hesitated to cut the wages of the school teachers!

The list of Tammany leaders whose salaries the Board of Aldermen did not have the heart to touch, includes:

Henry E. Donohue, treasurer of Tammany Hall, who draws \$12,000 a year as one of the commissioners of the Board of Water Supply.

William F. Delaney, leader 25th A. D., Brooklyn, another of the Board of Water Supply Commissioners, receiving \$12,000 annually.

George J. F. Henterberg, leader

6th A. D., Brooklyn, and a relative of the Boro President, who receives \$4,500 yearly as a clerk in the Municipal Court.

Terrence V. Farley, brother of the former Sheriff, also a Municipal Court clerk at \$4,500.

Thomas A. Dempsey, leader 11th A. D., Bronx, and Chief Clerk of the City Magistrate's Court, at \$8,000.

Joseph Lentol, leader 14th A. D., Brooklyn, and Superintendent of Sewers in Brooklyn, at \$6,500.

James J. Heffernan, leader 12th A. D., Brooklyn and Superintendent of Highways at \$6,500.

James P. Tynan, district leader in Richmond, who draws, \$5,000 as Deputy Clerk, City Court.

William J. Keeley, Richmond district leader, and Chief Inspector of the Bureau of Buildings at \$4,200.

Mrs. Agnes Leonard Ward, leader 7th A. D., Brooklyn, and Secretary to the Boro President, at \$4,500.

John E. Minnahan, Richmond district leader and Superintendent of Highways at \$5,250.

Patrick J. Smith, Richmond district leader and secretary to Justice of the City Court, \$4,500.

Thomas E. Clemens, election district captain in Richmond and Municipal Court clerk, \$4,500.

Thomas J. Lanchan, Richmond district leader and Municipal Court clerk, at \$4,000.

John Bowie, Richmond leader and confidential secretary to Commissioner McKee of the Department of Education, at \$4,000.

Thaddeus Mirriam, chief engineer

The Zam Tour

On the way to Chicago, where he is to remain several months as national organizer, Herbert Zam, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), will pass thru the following cities, in which meetings of various sorts are being arranged:

Niles, Ohio: Friday, March 10
Cleveland: Sunday, March 12
Detroit: Tuesday, March 14
Fort Wayne: Friday, March 17
Van Wert, Ohio: Sat, March 18
Chicago: Sunday, March 19

chief of the Board of Water Supply, \$21,000.

Arthur S. Tuttle, consulting engineer of the Board of Estimate, \$16,000.

Edward A. Byrne, chief engineer Plant and Structures, \$16,000.

William W. Brush, chief engineer of the Bureau of Water Supply, \$14,000.

Of all the 294 "exempt" salaries only ninety-six cases were in the \$4,000 class while 198 were in the higher brackets. Ninety-two of the Tammany pets were receiving \$6,000 or more and thirty got \$10,000 or better. Had all the 294 been reduced in the same ratio as the others, a saving of \$115,000 yearly might have resulted.

This shameless piece of favoritism, this protection of the fat salaries of the Tammany chiefs at the expense of the masses of the poorly paid city employees, should arouse the working people of New York City, especial-

The Farmer Must Fight!

from "Farmers National Weekly"

We publish below an editorial appearing in the February 10, 1933 issue of the "Farmers National Weekly," published in Washington, D. C., by the Farmers National Relief Conference.—Editor.

The only way to fight this Wall Street program is to fight it openly and directly, and the farmers state conference is the best means for mobilizing the farmers to conduct this fight.

At the conferences, we must reject the half-way measures which the politicians and the professional farm leaders will propose. We must not be misled by quack remedies such as inflation, or by such relief proposals as the Frazier bill or the Robinson bill which provide relief only for the mortgage-holders.

The most urgent need for millions of the farm population is immediate cash relief. Farmers and their families are facing actual hunger and cold. Not because they are lazy or inefficient, but because of the system of middlemen's profits and bankers' usury. Red Cross and charity relief are not enough. Let those who have profited thru the ruin of the farmer now pay the price of relief. Let us demand cash relief from the state and federal governments. Let them go to the rich people for the wherewithal.

Let the jobless, to action. The meager relief of the unemployed is being slashed in the name of "economy" while the huge salaries of Boss Curry's pets go untouched!

Let us demand adequate crop production loans, administered without discrimination of race, color or creed. Let us demand that the farmer without collateral—he happens to be the farmer who most needs it—be given a loan suitable to his needs. If the \$90,000,000 already appropriated for the Department of Agriculture are not enough, we say appropriate more. Take the additional funds out of the appropriation for battleships. Farmers in the United States do not need battle ships.

In both crop production loans and cash relief, there has been discrimination. There have been many instances of corruption in the distribution of relief. Let us demand that both the loans and the cash relief be administered by local committees of farmers, elected democratically by the farmers of the community. They will know who needs it most and how much each needs.

Let us insist that the legislature give us, not the false moratoriums pending now, but a real debt holiday, a moratorium on mortgages, interest, rents and taxes.

And while we carry on our fight to prevent evictions, foreclosures and tax sales, let us demand that it be consolidated in state laws. The legislature must enact legislation which definitely says: There shall be no evictions!

The time has come when farmers must consolidate politically what they have won by united action. If the legislatures fail us, we will not only enforce our demands by united action, but we shall elect our own men, farmers or workers, to local offices. Not bankers or lawyers or insurance men—our alliance is with our fellow-producers, the workers.

Send-Off Dance Sunday Eve., March 5
at 51 W. 14th St.

Crisis and Unemployment in U. S.

Great Problems Face Labor!

We publish below the first of a series of articles by Paul Mattick on unemployment, unemployment relief and the unemployment movement in the U.S.A.—Editor.

The possibilities of realization on capital in the United States, as compared with the European industrial countries, already suffering from overaccumulation, brought this country to the peak of industrial development. The favorable organic composition of capital, the absence of very burdensome pre-capitalist and early capitalist remnants, the thoroughly rationalized economy, the relative lack of independence upon the world raw materials market, the extra-profits of the war, and a number of other factors, made American capitalism the pride and joy of the capitalist world.

The Era Of "Prosperity"

The expansion of industry in the so-called "prosperity" period of 1923-1929 was accompanied by the ideological and organizational decline of the labor movement to a degree never before witnessed. Whereas formerly disintegration in the labor movement would set in in periods of crisis, now the same phenomenon was experienced throughout the boom period. The ideology of "prosperity" so completely dominated the minds of the American workers that the bourgeois economists were able to brand Marxism as "foreign" product for which there was no "market" in the United States.

Nevertheless, in spite of everything, "prosperity" was more of a mental state than a reality for the masses of the workers. The wages of certain categories of workers did indeed rise in the period of 1923-1929 but the majority of the workers could find no improvement in their position. The wage increases that did take place were outweighed by the mounting unemployment of this entire period. In 1923, at the peak of prosperity, the minimum wage necessary for existence, as computed by the Labor Department, was \$1,950 annually. But the average wage that actually obtained in 1923, according to the same source, was \$1,449, that is, about \$500 less than the minimum. Furthermore, it was precisely in this period of prosperity that the economic and social gap between the exploited and exploited grew wider than ever before. Actually, it seems, the "prosperity" was greatly overestimated in contrast to the economic collapse of Europe. It was not difficult for the bourgeois economists to interpret the "new era" (the "new capitalism") and these views found an echo in the labor movement.

The Coming Of The Crisis

As the industrial crisis set in and made its way with the stock exchange crash of 1929, the masses of the American workers shared the belief of the bourgeoisie that this crisis would soon end, as had previous depressions and even sooner than these. The labor movement did not grow; it declined even more. Three years of crisis were necessary to force thru the first signs of resistance on the part of the workers.

Hope in the speedy overcoming of the crisis was shattered in view of its duration and acuteness. In 1932 the production of the means of production did not outweigh their natural dissipation. Productive capacity is now hardly utilized at a 50% level. Bankruptcies mount and profits shrink. The chronic agrarian crisis is growing more acute under the impact of the industrial crisis. The burden of mortgage grows increasingly. The shrinkage in world trade has driven down both imports and exports. The rapidity of the whole process of economic disintegration is having a pronounced political effect on the American population. The rapidity of the decline is best expressed in the fall of profits. The profits of American concerns were in the first quarter of 1932, only 29% of what they had been in

the same period in 1931. Since 1929 the shares of these concerns have declined 85% of their value. Bank capital stands face to face with the low interest rate (1½% in New York banks in November 1932). The unemployment question strides forward to the center of interest, as the number of jobless keeps constantly swelling.

The Labor Bureau gives the following statistics for employment and wages, embracing 98 industries, for the month of September of every year since 1926. (The average for the year 1926 is taken as 100).

Employment	Wages
1926: 100.3	99.3
1927: 85.8	94.1
1928: 85.0	85.4
1929: 89.3	102.6
1930: 78.7	74.2
1931: 70.9	56.7
1932: 53.5	38.1

All attempts to stem this decline have failed. As is to be seen from these statistics, these attempts have all been in the direction of the intensification of exploitation thru slashes in wages. The "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" of August 13, 1932 demands:

"The employers are no longer able to pay the old wages (the already slashed wages—P. M.). The prices of commodities have fallen (but not half as much as wages—P. M.) Wages constitute the biggest part of the costs of

by Paul Mattick

production. The employer is no longer in a position to conduct his business profitably and he ceases to produce altogether and, consequently, the workers are thrown out of jobs. Were it possible to reduce wages to a lower level, to adapt them to the times, the depression would soon be a thing of the past."

Unemployment And Unemployment Relief

In the election campaign of 1932, President Hoover spoke of 10,000,000 jobless. The Communist Party refers to 16,000,000. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., gives the figure at about 13,000,000. The real number must be between 13,000,000 and 15,000,000, disregarding, of course, part-time workers. With their dependants, the number of the unemployed reaches at least 40,000,000 in absolute need.

The unemployment question, hitherto almost completely ignored, is now being discussed everywhere. Governmental unemployment insurance is being urged from all directions. As John B. Andrews pointed out in the February 1931 issue of "Current History", the movement for social insurance in the United States is continually growing. Private charity is bankrupt, as everybody recognizes,

There is no Federal unemployment insurance law in the United States and no Federal unemployment relief in the form of which it is known in Europe. All unemployment relief is still the expression of charity, public or private.

"A series of unemployment insurance bills are now before various state legislatures," declare J. and M. Kaczynski ("The Factory Worker in American Economy"). "These states are Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. The proposals fall into two groups, the 'English' and the 'Wisconsin' groups. The English group, including New York and Massachusetts, calls for the participation of the state, the workers and the employers to stand the costs. The Wisconsin group, embracing all other states, proposes that the costs should be borne exclusively by the employers."

All discussion on who is to bear the costs of insurance centers around the question of the participation of the state. The claim is made that the state is unable to meet its share thru taxation. The National Industrial Conference Board states as the result of its investigation of the question of unemployment:

"Germany's efforts on the field of unemployment insurance have shown that no insurance system is in the position of really taking care of the unemployed and that the costs must be borne very largely by the state."

There is no reason to believe that the results will be otherwise in America."

The other side maintains that unemployment insurance is quite possible without participation of the state. This viewpoint is supported by Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia University, who declares that the "American Plan" is based on the "principle of the creation of a reserve fund thru payments of industry corresponding to wage totals." These reserves are to be used to support the workers thrown out of jobs in each individual concern. The size of the contribution of the individual employer is to be dependent on the degree to which he avoids unemployment and succeeds in providing his workers with permanent employment. This is conceived in order to compel the employer, with an eye to his profits, to discharge as few as possible. This plan requires no state aid—the only trouble is, it is no more than an empty utopia.

In January 1933 the Ohio General Assembly was presented with a proposal for unemployment insurance along the following lines: after a three-week waiting period the unemployed is to receive half his regular wages for the period of sixteen weeks, provided that the sum does not exceed \$15 weekly. The state treasury, also it is to contribute to the fund, is to see to the payment. The funds are to be provided by a 3% tax on wage totals, 2% from the employers, 1% from the workers.

(Continued in next issue)

The Newest "Substitute" For Communism

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS

(Concluded from the last issue)

Technocracy And The Price System

The technocrats do not like to call the present system under which we live a capitalist system. They call it a price system. No mere choice of words is responsible for this. As we have seen, there is method in their madness. The substitution of "price" system for capitalist system has three distinct aims: (1) to deny the exploitative character of present-day society and its division into economic classes, (2) to repudiate the Marxian conception of the mechanics of capitalism and (3) to deny the distinction between the Soviet Union, as a transition to socialism, and capitalist society. Again we see the decisive anti-proletarian direction of these ideas. Let us examine briefly these three points.

1. Capitalist society is not only irrational, as the technocrats agree, it is also exploitative. Capitalist society is divided into classes: an exploiting class, owning the means of production, and the products, and a working class, owning nothing, except power to labor, producing everything and getting back in the form of wages only a fraction of what it produces. This is the basis upon which capitalist society operates, upon which the superstructure rests. The mechanics of capitalism are the concrete expression of this class relationship. The role of the capitalist, the owner of the means of production, is primarily that of the exploiter. To the technocrat, the same capitalist appears only as a factor in the technological process. The capitalist is a parasite, living on the product of the worker's toil, oppressing him, exploiting him. To the technocrat he simply is out of tune with engineering principles, he is violating the laws of physics. "Technocracy" is applied at results of the capitalist mode of production but it refuses to see the vast suffering, misery and poverty of the toilers even in "normal" times. It shows great concern for the "suffering" of the capitalists, however. Listen to Howard Scott bewailing the fate of the bankers:

A recent ninety-day loan was made in New York, and out of one percent. Can there be imagined more pathetic spectacle than the bank book which shows no interest entry or the banker who disconsolately walks thru a

by Herbert Zam

vault filled with currency with which he can do nothing?"

The working class can solve its problems only by depriving the owners of the means of production, socializing them and operating them on a planned, non-exploitative basis. The technocrats are not interested in the question of the ownership of the means of production. Do they think it will be possible to have a planned economy without disturbing present property relations?

2. According to the Marxian theory, wealth in capitalist society consists of an accumulation of commodities. Commodities are products of labor, produced for exchange (sale), whose value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor required to produce them. In the last analysis, this labor is measured by time (labor-time, or man-hours, as the engineers like to call it). Gold is itself a commodity and therefore can act as a medium of exchange. Other commodities can be and have been used as money (tobacco, cotton, cattle, wampum, furs, etc.). Value (and with it price) fluctuates with labor-time. More man-hours, greater value; less man-hours, smaller value.

Labor-power, being a commodity in capitalist society, is subject to the laws governing commodity exchange. But labor-power has

this peculiarity, of all commodities, of not only reproducing itself in value, but also producing additional value. The worker, however, receives only the original value of his labor-power in the form of wages (more or less) while the additional value created remains in the hands of the owners of the means of production. This Marx called surplus-value. This entire conception is challenged by technocracy. The technocrats maintain that, since labor has become a negligible factor in production and energy has become the primary factor, energy must be substituted for money as the measure of price (they make no distinction between value and price). "A dollar may be worth, in buying power," explains Scott, "so much today and more or less tomorrow but a unit of work or heat is the same in 1900, 1929, 1932 or 2000." This is simply silly confusion of the physical characteristics of energy with the economic characteristics of other commodities. As a physical thing as constant as a ton of coal, a calorie of heat or an erg of work. On the other hand, a kilowatt hour, a kilogram calorie, or any other unit of energy of work, when used as a commodity, as a medium of exchange, follows exactly the same laws as a pair of shoes or a dollar, and would be just as fluctuating.

The value of the energy unit is determined in precisely the same manner as the value of the dollar, ton of coal or pair of shoes, by the amount of socially necessary labor necessary to produce it, and its value will change in direct proportion with the changes in labor. Thus, the substitution of an erg property relations, will not and cannot eliminate exploitation.

3. Society cannot make a single leap from capitalism to socialism. Between the two there is a transition—the proletarian dictatorship. It is just as impossible to get from capitalism to socialism as it is to get from one side of a river to the other without crossing it. The demand for really a rejection of socialism as the future society and utopia. The transition period is characterized by features of socialism and features of capitalism. Among the latter is the temporary

retention of phases of the price system and the payment of wages. Technocracy refuses to make any distinctions. "Russia," says Scott, "mistook the name-tag of one phase of the price system for that system's entirety; it abandoned the tag, but retained the essential mechanics."

The term "price system" which technocracy employs in place of "capitalism" thus has political significance, as before—this time in the denial of any differences between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries, in particular, and of the need of a transition stage in general.

Technocracy And Crises

Technocracy lays the present crisis to the fact that society is not attuned to machine production on the present high technical level, is not in harmony with the "high energy level" of society. This explanation, in direct contradiction to the Marxian conception of crises, overlooks the fact that there have been crises since capitalism was born, developing in extent, intensity and duration with the development of capitalism itself. Approximately up to the war, these crises repeated themselves on the rising curve of capitalism; now they are repeating themselves on the declining curve of capitalism, which, on a world scale, has already seen its best days. There were crises long before the present "high energy level" was reached. These crises are caused by overproduction, resulting from exploitation—the fact that the producers do not receive enough to consume what they produce. In the last analysis, crises are caused by prosperity (when the tremendous overproduction takes place); unemployment is caused by employment; poverty is caused by superabundance. All this is denied by technocracy. The crisis is caused by machines, which displace the workers, they claim. When the worker is unemployed, he cannot buy, resulting in overproduction. We see, according to technocratic reasoning, overproduction is the result of the crisis, not its cause; it appears in the midst of the crisis, and does not precede it. The sole responsibility lies in the maladjustment between workers and machines. This is reminiscent of earlier days of "machine-wrecking". It is not the machine which causes crises, but the class monopoly of the machine and the division of its social utility to private gain. If there were not single

(Continued on page 7)

JUST OUT— "I Accuse!"

by
M. N. ROY
From the Suppressed Statement
of N. N. Roy on Trial for
Treason Before Sessions
Court, Cawnpore, India.

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On United Front and Party Regime

An Unpublished Letter of Engels

by Friedrich Engels

We present below, for the first time in English, a hitherto unpublished letter of Friedrich Engels to Heron Trir, a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist party of Denmark. Trir's letter was dated December 8, 1889 and Engels's came within the same month. The Central Committee of the S.F.D. had removed two comrades from the C.C. and expelled them from the party for opposing a block with the bourgeois Lefts in Denmark.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the extreme importance of this letter from a political viewpoint. (1) It refutes the oft-repeated allegations of the reformists that, in his last years, Engels became a "moderate," an opportunist. (2) It lays down the general strategical principles of the united front in a form especially valuable today. (3) It insists on the necessity of genuine party democracy in a workers party. The study of this letter is recommended to all revolutionists. —Editor.

Dear Citizen Trir:

I thank you very much for your interesting information of the eighth of this month.

To give you my opinion on the recent "great act of state" of Copenhagen of which you have become the victim, I will begin where I am not in agreement with you.

You reject, in principle, all common action with other parties, even of short duration. I am revolutionary enough not to reject in an absolute manner this measure in circumstances rendering it profitable or the least harmful.

We have no differences on the point that the proletariat cannot conquer power—the only road to the new society—without the revolution. In order that the proletariat should be strong enough, at the decisive time, to conquer, it is necessary—Marx and I have insisted on this point since 1847—that it form a distinct class party, a party of class consciousness, separated from all other parties and opposed to them.

The United Front

But this hardly signifies that the party cannot utilize, for its own end, other parties at certain moments. This does not signify above all that it can not temporarily support other parties when they realize measures useful to the proletariat or representing a step in advance in the direction of economic development or of political liberty. I would support any one who, in Germany, would fight effectively for the abolition of the majorats and other feudal survivals, against the bureaucracy, against the protective duties, against the anti-Socialist laws, against the limitation of the right of assembly and of the right of trade union organization. If our German progressive party and your Danish Wenstre were really bourgeois-radical parties and not miserable hatters who are struck as dumb as rabbits at the first threat of Bismarck and Estroup, I would not be, in either case, absolutely opposed to common action, of short duration, with them to attain a determined end. When our deputies vote for a proposal formulated by another party—they must do this often—this is already common action. But I am for it only where the advantage flowing directly for us or for the historical development of the country along the road of the economic and political revolution, is incontestable and justifies this path. All this on the condition that the proletariat and class character of the party is not put at stake. This is for me the absolute limit. You will find this policy explained already in 1847 in the Communist Manifesto; we applied it in 1848, in the International everywhere.

In putting aside the question of morality—there is no question here of such a matter, that is why I put it aside—I accept, as a revolutionist, any means leading to the goal, the most violent as well as what seems to be the most peaceful.

Such a policy demands perspicacity and firmness, but is there a policy which does not demand this?

This policy threatens to corrupt us—say the anarchists and friend Morris. But if the working class is composed of a group of individuals, of entangled people, if it is made up only of venal scamps, then it would be better if we get out immediately. In such a case the proletariat and we ourselves have nothing to do on the political arena. The proletariat, like all other parties, becomes more intelligent primarily as a result of its own mistakes from which no one can save it completely.

Therefore, according to my view, you are wrong when you raise a question of principle. At the bottom, I see here only a question of tactics. But mistakes in tactics under certain conditions can end up in a break with principle.

And here, as far as I can judge, you are right in coming out against the tactics of the leadership (of the Danish Socialist party—Editor). The Danish Left has already been playing for a long time an unworthy comedy of opposition and never fails to expose its impotence before the entire world.

It has missed the occasion—if it ever presented itself—of chastising vigorously those who have violated the constitution and it is clear that an increasingly large section of the Left tends towards coalition with Estroup. With such a party, it seems to me, the proletarian party cannot really march to-

gether without losing for a long time its own class character as a workers party. To the degree that you oppose to this policy the class character of the movement, I can only approve of your stand.

On Party Democracy

As far as the method of procedure of the leadership towards you and your friend is concerned, general exclusion of this sort of opposition from the party has also taken place, to tell the truth, in the underground circles in the years 1840-1851; the underground organization rendered this exclusion necessary. It has also often taken place among the English Chartists ("physical force") during the dictatorship of O'Connor. But the Chartists ("physical force") were a party organized directly for battle, as their name itself indicates; that is why they submitted to the dictatorship and the exclusion as a measure of war. On the other hand, in peaceful times, I know such an arbitrary method of proceeding only among the partisans of Lassalle, of the "strong organization" of Schweitzer. Schweitzer needed it in view of his suspicious relations with the Berlin police; and here it only accelerated the disorganization of

the Deutsche Arbeiterverband. At the present time, no Socialist workers party would ever have the idea—after Citizen Rosenberg in America has departed fortunately for himself—of proceeding in Danish fashion towards the opposition appearing in its ranks. The life and the development of each party are generally accompanied by the development and the mutual struggle of the moderate and the extremist currents; to exclude the extremists purely and simply only favors their development. The working class movement is based on the most severe criticism of existing society. Criticism is its vital element. How then can it itself avoid criticism and try to enforce a prohibition of discussion? Do we demand freedom of speech for others only to destroy it in our own ranks?

If you desire to publish this letter in its entirety, I would not find it inconvenient.

Devotedly yours,
F. Engels.

- 1 The German Progressive Party was a left bourgeois party formed in 1861.
- 2 The Danish Wenstre (that is, Left) was a left bourgeois party in opposition in the Danish Folkething.
- 3 The reference is to William Morris the English artist-Socialist.
- 4 Estroup (1825-1913) was the exponent of the governmental policy of the Dan-

ish ruling classes in the period of 1870-1890. He succeeded in his crusade to smash the Wenstre.

V. L. Rosenberg was the secretary of the Socialist Labor party of America from 1880. His high-handed bureaucracy and differences on the trade union question led to a split in the party and to his final disappearance from political life.

minimum charges ranging from \$3 to \$4.50 a week are automatically deducted. Is it any wonder that the workers refer to them as "rob usaries"?

4. Rebates. Now, last but not least, in this carefully planned robbing of workers is the system of rebates prevailing in many camps. Again I quote from the testimony before the Congressional Committee on Labor: "Some contractors go thru the motions of paying the prevailing rate of wages, giving the workers, their envelopes with the amount on the envelope and the complete amount inside, and then the paymasters collect a refund every week." This statement in the report is both preceded and followed by affidavits showing that the "rebate system" is prevalent on almost all project work under contract.

5. Physical violence. The attitude of many contractors toward their labor is exceedingly reminiscent of slavery at its worst. The chief difference now appears to be that the distress in this district is so acute that hundreds of people are waiting for jobs willing to endure anything for the sake of food and shelter.

6. Unsanitary living conditions. Crowded, floorless tents, filthy quarters, lack of arrangements for garbage disposal, etc., are prevalent conditions. A great deal of illness was observed, chiefly malaria, flu and rheumatism. Usually there is no screening in the colored quarters, altho the white tents are provided for adequately with floors, screens and additional mosquito netting.

Investigations And Whitewash

When the above conditions were brought to the attention of Major General Lytle Brown, he declared: "You can be quite certain that, without making any claim, the responsible government agencies with which I am connected are going to see to it that labor is not exploited." But when he was told of the case of the worker who owed the contractor money after working nine 12-hour days he brazenly replied: "I know that shiftless people will sometimes get themselves into debt."

Needless to say these workers are unorganized. The A. F. of L., to whom repeated appeals have been made, has not and does not propose to take any steps to organize them. Articles containing the findings of an independent investigation of conditions on these projects by Mr. Holt Ross, an organizer for the A. F. of L. were published in the New Orleans "Federationist" but copies of "these have been so thoroughly suppressed that the investigators were unable to find one. The editor produced the file but all the numbers containing these articles have disappeared. Mr. Ross was removed from his position as organizer for the A. F. of L. immediately after the investigation, which is generally believed to have been due to the disapproval of President Green. Many of the A. F. of L. officials refused to discuss the river camp situation" (N.A.A.C.P. report).

The attitude of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is perhaps best expressed in the words of Mr. Carroll, who after telling the committee that the workers on these projects are unorganized, proceeds: "The desirous of organizing it would not be within the province of the A. F. of L. to do them at the present time. They have reached the point where even the small sum charged for admission to a labor organization they do not possess."

At the hearing of the Committee on Labor the A. F. of L. leaders sang the praises of the Bacon-Davis law. "This law is a makeshift, smoke-screen enactment which pro-

(Continued on Page 7)

"In The Land Of The Free And Home Of The Brave!"

SLAVERY ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

by I. Zimmerman

The whole country has been shocked by the recent exposure of the atrociously inhuman conditions prevailing on the Mississippi flood-control projects. The published results of investigations recently made by several groups working independently have disclosed the existence of virtual peonage on a large scale and incredible exploitation of thousands of Negro workers under the lash of profit-mad contractors and sub-contractors.

The information contained in this article is taken from two of these investigations: one conducted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the other by Thomas E. Carroll, International Association of Machinists, and Holt Ross of the A. F. of L.

Conditions On The Projects

These projects are operated thru a contract system under the control of the U. S. War Department. First a word on this contract system.

Public works, such as the levees on the Mississippi, are supposed to be operated by the government. When bids for a particular job are asked, the government submits its bid along with private contractors. But, by an arrangement between officials and the contractors association, the government bid is suspended and the private contractor gets the contract. While this goes on, millions of dollars worth of machinery lies idle at government engineering bases, rusting—a total loss. At Vicksburg, Miss., for instance, the government established an engineering base with shop equipment worth close to \$1,000,000. A few years ago this base employed several thousand workers, but today it is completely deserted and the work is done by contractors. The testimony of Major General Lytle Brown, Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, before a Congressional committee, shows that the contractors' bids are not more than 25% above the government bid.

The contractors on the levee projects are supposed to operate under direct supervision of the U. S. War Department, yet, despite numerous complaints, this department, obviously in collusion with

the contractors, has taken no steps to remedy the outrageous conditions prevailing on these works. Now what are the conditions?

1. Hours. The contractors are supposed to adhere to the 8-hour law and yet, with scarcely any exception, the workers on these projects, mostly Negroes, work 12, and in many cases 14 and 16 hours daily, seven days a week, with no extra pay for overtime. The contractors evade the 8-hour law thru a provision in the law whereby the longer hours are permitted in cases of emergency and the lack of an adequate labor supply. Despite the fact that there are thousands of workers begging for jobs in that region and that these projects are permanent levee works, schedules for which are made years in advance and take perhaps ten years to complete, the contractors designate them "emergency works" in order to impose 12, 14 and 16-hour shifts upon the workers.

2. Wages. The average wage paid to workers on these jobs is 10c to 12½ cents an hour. But the workers are robbed of even this miserable pittance by a vicious system of charges and forced purchases from company commissaries. For instance, the workers of R. T. Clark Company, Inc., Myersville, Miss. are charged: commissary charge, \$3.00 a week; tent rent, 50 cents; for the cook, 75 cents

weekly; ice water, 5 cents daily. Then there are innumerable cases where workers are summarily fired without pay. Take, for instance, the case of a worker who was discharged by the S. K. Jones Construction Co., Memphis, Tenn., after working 12 hours a day for nine days at \$1.25 a day. Upon demanding his pay, he was given the following: The company claimed that he worked 79 hours; at 12½ cents an hour he had earned \$9.85. From this sum was deducted: commissary charges, \$7.60; cook for one and a half weeks, \$1.50; tent rent for the same period, 75 cents; ice water, 9 days, 45 cents; total charges, \$10.30; earnings, \$9.85; due the company, 45 cents!

At the end of nine days of grueling labor this man owed the company 45 cents! This case is not by any means an isolated one, but rather a typical example of the innumerable cases mentioned in the mass of evidence proving that such are the conditions prevailing in all camps in the lower Mississippi area.

The Commissary System

3. Commissary system. One of the most serious evils is the notorious commissary system, whereby workers are compelled to buy supplies from stores owned by the contractors at the most outrageous prices. The following quotation from the testimony of Thomas E. Carroll, of the International Association of Machinists, before a Congressional committee will serve to indicate how these prices run: "I could give you an illustration of one camp where a 12-pound bag of flour was sold for 75 cents. Washington prices are considered high, but I can get that bag of flour here for 28 cents."

The following table is taken from an N.A.A.C.P. report on the situation:

12 lb. sack of flour	60c—reg. price 30c
salt pork	1 lb. 15c—reg. price 6c
cigarettes	25c—reg. price 6c
cotton pants	\$2.00—reg. price 90c
shirts	\$1.50—reg. price 35c
75c coffee	50c—reg. price 28c
condensed milk	20c—reg. price 8c
potatoes	5c—reg. price 3c
meal	5 lb. sack 30c—reg. price 24 lb. 35c
lard	4 lbs 55c—reg. price 30c

In most of these commissaries

Have You Read ?

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c
THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
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The Group at Work

The Plenum of the C. P. - O.

New York City. A meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), enlarged by delegations from some of the districts (Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, Detroit, Fort Wayne, etc.) took place during the week-end of February 11, 12, 13, 1933. It proved to be one of the most significant conferences ever held by the Communist Opposition in this country.

The Political Report

The main political report was delivered by Jay Lovestone on the general situation and the tasks and perspectives of our group. In connection with his report Comrade Lovestone presented a detailed thesis. The international economic and political situation was developed, including a careful examination of the problem of stabilization and the perspectives of the crisis. A central phase of the thesis and report was the analysis of the present condition of United States capitalism and its relation to world capitalism. The political situation in this country, the status and tendencies of the labor movement, the condition of the Communist movement and the political tasks and perspectives of the Opposition, were treated in conclusion. A vigorous discussion, on a high political level, took place on the many points raised in the report and thesis. Subject to certain amendments and to final revision by a specially elected committee, the draft thesis was approved.

Our Organization

D. Benjamin reported on the work of the Communist Opposition since the last national conference (September 1932). The picture he presented showed the gratifying progress made by our group in these five months, especially outside of New York City. The growth of our organization, and even more of its political influence, our advance in unemployment work, some substantial headway among the Negro workers, and the noticeable improvement in our general functioning, were all emphasized, especially in contrast to the extremely critical situation noted by the last conference. But the negative sides of the picture were by no means neglected; the unsatisfactory character of our trade union work, the inadequacy of the support and distribution of the "Age", the general weakness of our organization, our shortcomings in work among the party members, etc. The discussion that followed threw a light on the struggle of the Opposition in district after district. Comrade Conner's impressive report on the work of the Fort Wayne, Ind., group, the written report from San Antonio, Texas, the report on Detroit and the speech of Comrade Lopez, the president of the Mexican Workers and Peasants League of Detroit, were living witnesses of the general progress of our group in spite of all obstacles. In connection with Comrade Benjamin's report a number of organizational decisions were made, including the selection of a national organizer for the Chicago-Detroit-Fort Wayne region.

The "Russian Question"

The third report was by Will Herberg, on the results of the discussion on the "Russian question", which had been carried on for over three months. Comrade Herberg's report and the statement he introduced analyzed the position of the comrades of the minority, showing that their insistence on the "Russian questions" as the "paramount question" was really an attempt to revise the fundamental basis of existence of our group. Comrade Becker presented an "appeal" which he said had been signed by thirteen group members. This "appeal" did not limit itself to the "Russian question"; it also contained a thorough distorted picture of the situation in America and the position and tasks of the Opposition. In the discussion it came out that some of the comrades whose names Becker had attached to the "appeal" had not made a declaration to this effect on the floor of the conference. On a vote, the statement of the National Committee, as presented by Comrade Herberg, was unanimously endorsed, while the Becker "appeal" was unanimously rejected.

The February plenum must be estimated in connection with the September 1933 national conference. The September conference frankly and soberly examined the critical situation in our movement and outlined ways and means of improvement and advance. The National Committee took the decisions of the conference seriously and adopted the necessary steps to carry these decisions into life. The February plenum showed that the vigorous measures of the National Committee have already begun to bear fruit.

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN HARLEM

New York City.

On Thursday evening, February 9, Jay Lovestone spoke on "What is the Communist Opposition?" in the heart of Harlem. In spite of the bitter cold about one hundred workers were present at the meeting. Comrade Lovestone made a brilliant talk, describing the situation in the Communist movement and explaining the necessity for a Communist Opposition movement. A few official party members present only added point to Comrade Lovestone's arguments by their abuse and the absurdity of their remarks. A vigorous discussion followed.

Six comrades, all Negroes, joined the Opposition at this meeting. A great deal of literature was sold. After the meeting, most of the official party members remained in the hall and engaged in a comradely discussion.

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

10 cents

In bundles of ten or more 6 cents

WORKERS AGE
223 Second Avenue
New York City

We publish below a letter from a party member in California. It casts light upon the conditions in the party as well as upon the growing influence of the "Workers Age" and the Communist Opposition.—Editor.

February 10, 1933.

Have just got thru reading the "Age" for February 1, and, when I say reading, I mean reading from cover to cover. I find it very interesting especially the articles, "Lenin and the Communist International" and "Why a United Jobless Movement." I am a subscriber of the "Daily" and also a C. P. member. But, in spite of the fact that I am at this time trying to find the best as well as the weak points in both the "Daily" and the C. P., I find the "Age" appeals to me most, and I am an American worker, at present employed, amongst mostly American workers. I can't help but feel that this could be the opinion of the majority of them and that is what I am trying to decide at present. Where should I be? In the official party or in the Opposition? I can't help seeing the narrow sectarian approach of the party, as I am on a leading section committee. What

"United Front" In Hartford

Hartford, Conn.

The partial turn in the united front tactics of the Communist Party has reached Hartford in part. On Saturday afternoon, January 29, the Young Communist League of Hartford called a united front conference against war. In addition to the C. P., Y. C. L. their auxiliary organizations, there were also represented the S. P., the Y. P. S. L., the Marxian Educational Society, the Putnam Club (a non-partisan organization with some Socialist members), and the Communist Opposition of Hartford. It was quite an advance for the Y. C. L. to invite the Socialist organizations as organizations and not merely the "rank and file". But they had not forgotten their old love—the "united front from below". In their invitation to the Y. P. S. L., they specified that they wanted "rank and file" delegates and not leaders. Of course they were properly told that the Y. P. S. L. would send whomever they wished. Altho the Y. P. S. L. and S. P. have become acceptable to the Y. C. L., the C. P. O. is still taboo with them. Astonishing as it may seem, the leaders of the conference insisted that the delegates from the C. P. O. should not be seated because they "are for war". It was made clear by all the delegates who were not officially tied up with the Y. C. L. that, unless the C. P. O. delegates were seated, they could not remain in the conference room.

In their eagerness to keep out the Opposition delegate, the Y. C. L. leaders forgot to say even one word of criticism of the S. P. The opening of the conference was purposely delayed so that the sons and daughters of former party members and sympathizers could pack the conference. After a great deal of talk back and forth, they succeeded, by a majority of one, not to seat the C. P. O. delegates. But it was a victory that was a defeat, for the conference was ended at that point. Half of the delegates walked out, and the children of former party members were left to stew in their own juice.

The whole purpose of the Y. C. L. seems to have been to deny the existence of the C. P. O. in Hartford. Some centuries ago, the heads of the Church insisted that the earth did not move, and today the official party insists that the C. P. O. does not exist in Hartford. But the earth still moves, and the C. P. O. of Hartford is growing in numbers and influence.

—A.

In the Comintern

New Expulsions in Switzerland

Zurich, Switzerland.

A sensation was created recently in working class circles by the expulsion of Fritz Brupbacher from the Communist Party of Switzerland. Brupbacher is a distinguished veteran in the revolutionary movement here and has been a prominent public figure in Communist activity for many years, especially in educational and election work.

Brupbacher is expelled because "he is an anarchist and not a Communist" and as proof the official party leaders bring forward the book "Marx and Bakunin" which Brupbacher wrote over ten years ago!

Brupbacher has, indeed, anarchist tendencies of a pronounced sort. But these did not prevent him from working actively in the Social-democratic movement and in the Communist Party since the post-war split. It was only when he refused to tolerate the growing oppressive regime in the party that he was expelled.

In Basel, Franz Welti, former chairman and political leader of the party, is facing expulsion. The rumor goes that a whole series of leading party figures are "under suspicion" of hidden opposition to the ultra-left course.

ARREST BRANDLER IN ALSACE

Strassburg, Alsace.

German Hitlerites, Czarist assassins, Spanish royalists, all have free entry into France but the gates are closed to the leader of the German Communist Opposition. On Tuesday, January 31, Heinrich Brandler, head of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), came to Strassburg in order to speak at a closed party meeting of the Alsatian Communist Opposition. Altho his papers were all in order, Brandler was stopped at the border, arrested and confined in the investigation prison. He is still in prison at the time of writing, February 4. No reason whatever has been given for this outrageous action. The Strassburg and Alsatian workers, among whom the Communist Opposition is very influential, have voiced a vigorous protest and are demanding the immediate release of Heinrich Brandler.

Schaffhausen, Switzerland.

A few weeks before his arrest in France, Comrade Brandler was arrested and turned back when he tried to enter Switzerland to speak at several public meetings arranged

led by the Swiss Communist Opposition.

CENTRIST MEET IN PARIS

Paris, France.

In connection with the congress of the P. U. P. (Party of Proletarian Unity), there took place here, on February 6, 1933, an international conference of centrist parties. Present were: the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (Paton and Brockway), the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (Rosenfeld and Seydewitz), the Labor Party of Norway (Moe), the Socialist Party of Italy (Angelica Balabanoff), the Party of Proletarian Unity (P.U.P.) of France (Paul Louis, Juncker, LeTrange). Among those centrist organizations which were not represented at the gathering but which joined the conference were: the Independent Social Party of Holland, the Socialist Party of Poland, the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Ukraine, the Left Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia, the Independent Socialist Party of Rumania, etc.

The political results of this conference are not yet public. It is characteristic, however, of the true nature of centrism that this gathering was "broad" (unprincipled) enough to secure the adherence of the S. W. P. of Germany, which claims to stand in support and defense of the Soviet Union and to be a "true Communist" party, and the Left S. R.'s of Russia, an anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary clique of emigres.

The conference decided to establish a permanent center.

TROTSKYITE MEET ON GERMANY

New York City.

About 200 people attended the meeting held by the Communist League (Trotskyites) on Sunday, February 5, to consider the critical situation in Germany as a result of Hitler's rise to power. James P. Cannon, titular leader of the Trotskyites, declared the meeting was about three times the size of one of their normal meetings.

Max Shachtman was the chief speaker, while J. P. Cannon made the appeal for funds. Shachtman devoted his time almost entirely to a denunciation of the Socialist International in general and the German Social-democracy in particular. Justified as he undoubtedly was in his condemnation of the treacherous policies of the German Social-democracy, the emphasis he placed on the whole question in his speech was not only politically wrong at the present moment of Fascist triumph but, to some of the Socialist visitors at the meeting, it seemed to run contrary to the professed desires of the Trotskyites for a united labor front. Communist workers, too, felt that something more constructive should have been the outcome of the speech of the Trotskyist representative than merely the repetition of the old differences between the two world movements.

The most surprising thing about the meeting came when J. P. Cannon declared: "With the first attempt of the Fascist government to aim a blow at the German working class, they should be answered by the Red Army of the Soviet Union." In answering questions, Shachtman supported his colleagues' proposal. A sympathizer of the Trotskyites here sardonically remarked that it would be nice to have the Red Army make the revolution for the workers of all countries!

M.

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A California Party Member Writes

A Letter

confusion prevails! It is terrible! Seven or eight hours of meeting and nothing accomplished! Comrades worn out and, after all, the only decisions that are considered leaders on the top committee have decided on beforehand. It is a crime in the face of the intelligent material that is coming into the party at the present time, who have proposals to make that are really worth considering and, when methods, the leaders spend hours of valuable time alibing and justifying themselves and showing that it really didn't happen after all. It is just the newness of the members and etc., etc. I felt so sure and confident of myself before I got on the leading committee. The higher I went the more confidence I lost. When I first saw these things in the lower committees I felt it was because we were new and I felt sure the section or district would straighten things out as soon as it comes to their attention. But when I found that the section and the district were not capable of this but were even

worse than the lower committees. I lost that blind faith and began to look for the cause. I am doing a lot of reading and thinking from both angles and if the C. P. is right they have nothing to fear from me reading what the Opposition has to say as I shall decide in favor of what I consider the right policy. What is another thing? What has the party to fear from comrades meeting members of other groups and reading other literature? Surely anyone who is consider is capable of being on a leading committee should have intelligence enough not to be treated as a child! Why do they discourage discussions on points of policy? Especially among leading comrades?

Well, these are the things I am going to find out and I will not wander from the path of Leninism in doing it. By following his teachings, I will decide or rather let them decide. I am not ready at this time to make an open statement for obvious reasons. So if my name or address. However, I will sign this trusting to your pose except in correspondence directly to me.

KILL JOBLESS BILL IN N. Y.

Committee Rejects Plan For Jobless Insurance

Albany, N. Y.

After months of pretense that it was in favor of compulsory state unemployment insurance, the joint Legislative Committee on Unemployment, headed by William Marcy, Jr., Republican, finally came out, on February 19, in opposition to the plan on the hollow pretext that it would "result in the dismissal of thousands of part-time workers and add greatly to the burden of unemployment relief." The joint committee had been "studying" the question for two years.

John E. McGarry, representing "labor" on the committee, agreed with the recommendation, as did, of course, R. Smith Payne, representing the employers. Mrs. R. K. Kowth, representing the "public," however, entered a minority report.

Protests against the stand of the committee were voiced immediately after its announcement by prominent liberal economists, welfare workers, labor leaders and advocates of labor legislation. Dr. Leo Wolman of Columbia University pointed out that the justification given by the joint committee for its action was fraudulent, for the immediate initiation of a system of jobless insurance would not have the consequences "feared" in the Marcy report.

It is becoming increasingly clear that whatever social legislation and relief measures are to be achieved must be won by hard, organized struggle on the part of the workers of this country against the employers agents in the government as well as against such treacherous "labor leaders" as Mr. McGarry, who voted on the bosses side also he was supposed to represent labor.

TOKYO THREATENS TO QUIT LEAGUE

(Continued from Page 1)

to United States pressure, utilizing Wall Street's strategic position on the debts question. The withdrawal of Japan from the League is substantially a protest against the growing influence of United States imperialism in the League.

The withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations reflects the very considerable sharpening of the imperialistic antagonisms in world politics and the rapid approach of the conditions making for a new world war.

The Fruits of Burocracy

The Communist Party Commits Gross Chauvinist Errors—The Communist Opposition Corrects Them And Is Abused In Return—Now Comes "Admission Of Error"—A Year Too Late!

On February 22, 1932, there was published in the "Daily Worker" a manifesto of the Communist Party of the United States on the Far Eastern crisis. The first slogan with which this manifesto ends is: "Demand the expulsion of the diplomatic representatives of imperialist Japan from the United States." And this slogan, in one form or another, dominated the "public declarations of the party for many months.

On February 25, 1932, the "Daily Worker" featured the headline: "U. S. Warns Japanese on China Loot." The same theme of Yankee imperialism's benevolent big-brotherly role in the Far East was played up in almost every issue of the party press in the weeks that followed.

On April 12, the "Daily Worker" reprinted an article of Karl Radek in the Moscow "Izvestiya," raising the possibility of a Soviet-American alliance as a "warning" to Japan in its mad course of anti-Soviet provocation. The "Daily Worker" did nothing but echo the ideas contained in this article in its usual flamboyant manner.

In the May 1932 "Communist," Earl Browder defended the "expulsion" slogan with great violence as "a real Bolshevik deed which echoed through the world."

In the February 27, 1932 issue of the "Workers Age," there appeared a first page statement sharply criticizing the "expulsion" of the Japanese diplomats' slogan as a "purely chauvinist, anti-proletarian idea, having nothing in common with the point of view of Communism." In the next issue (March 5, 1932) the "Workers Age" took up the subject of "Chauvinism in Our Party" in the leading editorial. Again it castigated the notorious slogan and sharply condemned the party's equivocal attitude to the role of U. S. imperialism in the Far East. In the following issue (March 19, 1932) an Anthracite miner, Peter Gallia, took up the same theme and showed the dangerous consequences of chauvinism in the party. In the April 23, 1932 issue, the leading editorial was devoted to the subject "Soviet State Politics and American 'Communist' Chauvinism." Here the great and essential difference between Soviet state diplomacy and Communist policy in the capitalist world was strongly emphasized. "The simple mechanical conversion of Soviet state policy into Communist Party policy in the capitalist world is the most fruitful source of suicidal error. The Soviet state also fights, and fights hard in the international

class war between labor and capital, but it fights on another plane, as a state power, with special weapons appropriate to a socialist state surrounded by capitalist enemies. There is not a particle of Marxism, of Leninism, of Communism, in the attempt to automatically transfer the forms and slogans of Soviet diplomacy to the strategy and tactics of the class struggle in the United States. . . . In the April 16, 1932 "Age," the Communist Youth Opposition issued an appeal to the Y. C. L. summarizing, reiterating and emphasizing all of these criticisms of the party policy in the Far Eastern situation.

Throughout all this time the "Daily Worker" and the other official Communist Party papers met the criticism of the Communist Opposition with frantic abuse, with the grossest slander and insult!

Finally, in the "Daily Worker" of February 18, 1933, there is published the draft resolution of the recent sixteenth plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. U. S. A. to be presented to the coming eighth convention of the party. The last paragraph of Section VI of this resolution reads: "through the world."

"Extremely grave errors were committed by the party when the robber attack of the Japanese imperialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American party in a sharper and more real form than ever before. . . . The line of the party suffered from certain distortions and unclarity, by the failure to place sharply enough in the forefront of this struggle the fight against American imperialism. While the party correctly perceived that the contradictions between rival imperialisms must be utilized to the utmost by the revolutionary party, yet an inexcusably incorrect application of the correct principle was made in adopting for a period a conciliatory attitude toward the speculation of bourgeois correspondents about a possible 'alliance' between the U. S. and U. S. S. R. against Japan ('Daily Worker', April 12), and by failure to distinguish between the correct Leninist utilization of antagonisms by a proletariat in possession of state power, and the different forms such utilization by Communist Parties in capitalist countries must take (mechanical application to problems in U. S. of quotations from Lenin referring to problems of Soviet power at the 14th Plenum). The incorrect application of the utilization of the contradictions between the imperialist powers tended to weaken our

struggle against American imperialism. The campaign suffered further from a certain narrowing down of the mass movement because the party mistakenly adopted as party slogans those which were not the slogans of the conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses, but rather the slogans which express the unripe-revolutionary moods of the masses that are only now growing toward revolutionary consciousness, slogans to which the party must give conditional support but not put forward in its own name. ('Expel the Japanese', imperialist representatives, etc.) This tendency of the party to replace the masses by the party itself is not unconnected with its sectarian background."

What is the lesson? For nearly a year the official Communist Party maintained, against the constant criticism of the Opposition, an attitude on the most important political question facing it that it now itself condemns in sharp terms. And why? Because the sectarian course and the bureaucratic regime have shrivelled up the party's powers of independent political analysis and have savagely outlawed and banned any real self-criticism. The only protection of the party against the commission and perpetuation of the grossest political errors is party democracy and freedom of political criticism in the party!

MOONEY MEETING IN NEW YORK

New York City.

In preparation for the great nationwide Free Mooney Congress to take place in Chicago on April 30 to May 2, there will take place a preliminary New York Free Mooney Conference to be held in Irving Plaza Auditorium on Sunday, March 12, 1933 at 10 A. M., under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee.

The great Free Mooney Congress is being organized on the basis of the stirring call of Tom Mooney to all labor organizations, trade unions, workers fraternal societies, labor political parties and groups, etc., to join forces in a united front movement broad and powerful enough to snatch Tom Mooney from the living hell to which he has been consigned by the capitalists for his devotion to the cause of the workers and to restore this militant fighter to the ranks of labor.

MORE YOUTH FOR CANNON FODDER

Homeless Boys Are Sent To Army Camps

Washington, D. C.

Under the pretext of "unemployment relief", the Senate, on February 13, voted to include in the War Department appropriations funds amounting to \$20,000,000 for the militarization of at least 22,000 jobless young workers. Under the amendment introduced by Senator Couzens unemployed youths from 15 to 21 years of age, out of work for at least six months, are to be received at the Citizens Military Training Camps for periods up to one year. The appropriations for these camps were thereby raised from \$2,500,000 to \$22,500,000.

The youths enlisted in the camps will receive a regular military training "materially and morally," that is, they will be turned into efficient and willing cannon-fodder in the next imperialist war to which Wall Street will send them defend its profits. At the same time, the young workers will also be taught to be submissive and obedient workers (strikebreakers and scabs) and to shun trade unions and other labor organizations, especially if they are radical.

All progressive and militant youth organizations, whether composed of young workers or of students, must raise their voice at this against the brazen conspiracy of the war-mongers and open-shoppers. They must demand instead that the hundreds of thousands of homeless youth in this country be given real relief by the government, relief that will not subject them to militaristic, anti-labor and reactionary propaganda and training.

CHARGE HUEY LONG IS CORRUPT

New Orleans, La.

That Senator Huey Long, the self-advertised "friend of the common people", took a bribe of \$10,000 from H. C. Abell, representative of the Electric Bond and Share Company, which controls the New Orleans Public Service, Inc., for reducing taxes on the company, was charged here on February 14, by Earl K. Long, the Senator's brother, in sworn testimony before the Senate committee investigating frauds in the recent Senatorial primaries. Earl Long also intimidated that Huey's itching palm was active in other directions as well.

SLAVERY ON MISSISSIPPI

(Continued from page 5)

wides vaguely that workers on government buildings be paid at the rate of wages prevailing in the particular locality. In most cases the contractors do not even take the trouble to evade this law; they simply violate it since it provides no penalties for violations. Furthermore, since this law does not indicate a method for determining the "prevailing rate of wages", the contractors pay whatever they wish the "prevailing" rate to be.

The N. A. A. C. P. has so far limited its activities to appeals to President Hoover, the War Department, congressmen and senators. It demanded investigations. In reality, it received letters full of insults and imprecations from Major General Brown, letters full of poison from the most tactful Patrick Hurley, Secretary of War.

On the eve of the last election President Hoover appointed a special commission to "investigate" among those appointed were E. R. Mason, of Tuskegee, official white-throat for the Republican party. That the appointment of this commission is the most cynical of empty gestures can easily be seen from

the fact that not one cent was appropriated for its work! And now we understand that Senator Wagner of New York is the latest to move another investigation in the U. S. Senate. These investigations must not be permitted to blind us to the fact that these conditions will never be remedied unless masses of workers are organized in a determined and emphatic protest. There must be built up a united front organizations, liberal unions, fraternal groups, etc., through the country with the following objective:

(1) The abolition of the contract systems. Workers for such projects shall be hired directly by the government. (2) Increase in wages consistent with a decent standard of living. (3) The 8-hour day. Such a measure will help to provide employment for many of the thousands of unemployed workers in these localities. (4) Sanitary living quarters for the workers. (5) Abolition of the commissary system, whereby the workers are compelled to buy all their supplies from company commissaries at prices much higher than at regular stores. (6) No discrimination because of race

or color. (7) No infringement of the personal or civil liberties of the workers.

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKERS

(Continued from Page 4)

new invention or machine for a hundred years, crises would still appear at regular intervals; if society had remained at the "energy level" of 1848, crises would repeat themselves just as inexorably. In the Communist Manifesto, written in 1847, Marx and Engels were not only able to trace the periodicity of crises since the rise of capitalism but were able to predict their continuation.

But the false explanation of the crisis is not the worst feature of the technocratic views on this question. What is a thousand times more dangerous is the conclusion that nothing can be done short of establishing a technocratic system, to improve the conditions of the workers before the present system is overthrown. Shorter hours are not permitted by the "laws of physics". "Technocracy has now advanced to a point where it has substituted energy for man-hours on an equal basis and where the distribution

of human labor becomes impossible" (Howard Scott).

Can there be a more brazen justification for the refusal of the capitalists to reduce the hours of labor. Blame it on "technology"! How technocracy can promise an 8-hour week, if society were operated on the basis of technology, and at the same time declare that technology makes reduction of the hours of labor impossible, is something which will require some new technocratic theories to explain. Similarly, the technocrats see no possibility in the workers fighting to increase their wages. "Through increased investment in machines—made necessary by the increasing rate at which they go out of date—the manufacturer is forced to reduce the portion of his costs which go to labor. This again inexorably works against the increase of wages and the distribution of time" (Howard Scott).

How nicely everything dovetails in and comes back to technology, exonerating the capitalists on the way. Thus, technocracy sounds the doom of the working class; it cannot demand shorter hours, it cannot struggle for higher wages. What is left? Dream of a push-button utopia in the future!

(Concluded in the next issue)

SCOTTSBORO FRAME-UP EXPOSED

(Continued from page 1)

indeed "raped" but by "those white boys."

This letter, it now appears, has been in the possession of the local police for many months, but the authorities attempted from the first to suppress it so as not to interfere with their conspiracy to lynch eight innocent colored boys! It was only the tireless efforts of the I. L. D. that brought the letter to light and provided irrefutable evidence that the whole case against the boys was nothing but a legal lynching, a shameful frame-up.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that even this piece of decisive evidence will open the prison doors upon the Scottsboro boys. The white ruling class of Alabama is determined to go thru with the legal lynching, evidence or no evidence; only the vigorous and widespread protest of the masses of the people of this country and abroad can stop them!

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March 1, 1933.

THE AFFAIR AT MIAMI

ALL of the strenuous efforts of the police to make Giuseppe Zangara into a "Communist" or at least into an "anarchist" have, it now appears, failed since the curious discovery that the would-be assassin of Franklin D. Roosevelt is both a registered Republican and insane. It is well enough known to all that such methods of individual terror find no countenance or support among the Communists. As Marxists, we have always regarded such "propaganda of the deed" as "rugged individualism gone mad," as the very antithesis of the collective mass basis of the truly proletarian struggle. From decades of experience, we are convinced that such outbursts uniformly redound to the benefit of the exploiters, demoralizing and disorganizing the proletarian mass movement and providing the ruling class with an opportunity to mobilize popular sentiment in a reactionary frenzy against the revolutionary labor movement in all its branches.

This is already beginning in the Zangara case. The tabloids and the Hearst gutter press are working up a synthetic fury under cover of which the already slim civil rights of the laboring population will be further reduced and the persecution of the foreign-born workers further intensified. Strenuous efforts are now being made to rush thru the Dies bill for the exclusion and deportation of foreign-born workers who show the slightest signs of labor solidarity and militancy. This bill has already passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate. The House Committee has reported favorably the Eslick bill according to which heavy prison terms and fines as high as \$10,000 are to be visited upon workers, native or foreign-born, who hold revolutionary political opinions of any sort. These measures are being deliberately framed in order to cripple and head off the "dangerous" sentiment of unrest and dissatisfaction growing in the ranks of the workers, employed and unemployed alike, and of the poor farmers. If Wall Street succeeds in putting thru these bills under cover of the hysteria worked up over the attempt to assassinate Mr. Roosevelt, the labor movement in this country will suffer a major defeat with disastrous consequences for many years to come.

Yet, while we recognize the extremely serious implications of the Zangara attempt, we categorically refuse to join in the hue and cry against the would-be assassin. We spurn with the deepest contempt the hypocritical sentimentality of those who tolerate and defend a social order which grinds the bones of the poor into profits for the rich, which coins the blood and toil of little children into streams of gold, which slaughters tens of thousands in industry and millions in war, but who rise in virtuous indignation over the attempt to kill the political head of such a system. The target of attack of any conscious and self-respecting worker must be not the miserable Zangara but the inhuman social system which debauches the minds of workers and which drives demoralized elements to acts of insane distraction in desperate protest.

CHARLES EMIL RUTHENBERG

SIX years have speedily passed since the death of Charles Emil Ruthenberg, the outstanding founder and builder of our party—the Communist Party of the United States. The last four of these have given tragic evidence of the disastrous consequences that have come upon our movement when it deviated from the political course which Comrade Ruthenberg championed and defended in the last period of his life.

C. E. Ruthenberg symbolized in his own development the inner evolution of Communism in America. In his revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, in his uncompromising war on opportunism in the Socialist party and on ultra-left adventurism in the early Communist movement, in the very degree to which the Russian Revolution inspired him, Comrade Ruthenberg was the fitting symbol and spokesman of those forces in the American labor movement which gave birth to Communism in the United States.

Ruthenberg was the bitter foe of high-falutin pseudo-"revolutionary" phrases hiding passivity and inaction. His biting criticism of the sectarians of 1919-1922 fit only too well their degenerate descendants at the helm of the party today. "This is not Communism at all," he told us. "It is the perversion of the living principles of Communism into an iron dogmatism. If there is one thing that differentiates Communism from other political philosophies, it is the appreciation that the facts in every given situation must be considered in applying its principles." Thus, Ruthenberg was not only an "opportunist" according to the present party leaders but he was even, crimes of crimes, an "exceptionalist".

Ruthenberg's conception of the role of the Communist International is well worth study today. He was, of course, a firm believer in the international character of the revolutionary movement and therefore in the necessity for a strong all-embracing Communist International. But he never ceased emphasizing the equal necessity of guaranteeing the individual parties the possibility of political initiative and self-directional leadership for the C. I. Ruthenberg openly scored the "cable regime" by which every decision in the life of our party, great and small, was made in mandatory cables from the Comintern. History shows how thoroughly correct was Ruthenberg in this matter also.

The loss that our party, and the American working class as well, suffered in the death of C. E. Ruthenberg is only second to the loss suffered in the systematic revision of the Leninist line for which Ruthenberg stood. There is no better way of honoring the memory of the founder and builder of our party than by redoubling our efforts to save the party from the ruin of the latter-day sectarianism!

A Splendid Example!

San Antonio Communist Opposition Shows What Can Be Done In Face Of Great Difficulties

We publish below a recent report sent in by the San Antonio, Texas, group of the Communist Opposition. It brings before us a splendid example of Communist work in the face of tremendous difficulties. I should provide an answer to those sceptical party members and sympathizers who declare: "Well, perhaps you are right, but what can you do as an Opposition?"—Editor.

San Antonio, Texas.

January 28, 1933.

The Unemployed Council has passed thru several stages of development during its short existence. Since the split with the party, our group has been in constant contact with the Mexican workers, but it was very difficult to make connections with American workers and Negro workers. This problem has always been uppermost with us.

In San Antonio there are approximately 75,000 unemployed workers. Since no one has ever been able to approach them, we decided to reach them thru their current needs. We first tested the correctness of our method of approach by calling a mass protest meeting on the eviction of the bonus marchers and it proved a great success. This encouraged us to go further with our plans. Our second step was to form an unemployed council. This council was formed in conjunction with a kitchen to provide free meals for the unemployed. The response of the workers exceeded our greatest anticipations. Rather than let these workers go to the charities where they are degraded and compelled to pray for a bit of dry bread and being thereby influenced by them, we opened this kitchen so that we could come in contact with these same workers and so that we could propagandize them in an organized manner in order to develop them as fighters for the class struggle which confronts them as a class.

We called a meeting of the unemployed workers, formed committees which went out with trucks to solicit food and equipment necessary for the kitchen. This proved to be easy and we did not encounter any difficulties. In six weeks we served 11,000 meals and our organization became the talk of the town. Politicians of different shades and degrees visited our council and were surprised at the success of our council but were dissatisfied that it was under the "control" of Communists.

Our ultimate aim was not only to feed the people but also to hold educational lectures and propaganda meetings daily, in which we were successful. But even so we had some difficulty with other interfering elements. In the beginning the so-called loyalite Communists decided to take no stand in regard to the organization. But seeing the growth and tremendous influence, they came with the intention of disrupting the leadership of the "Lovestonite". In this they suffered a bitter defeat from the membership.

With the tremendous growth of the council, the executive committee became larger, consisting of five who were entirely with us and four who were impartial. The committee worked harmoniously together until the race question was brought up. When Negro workers began coming to the council, the race question arose in the executive committee. For a time we were afraid that the existence of the council was at stake.

We were confronted with a problem on which we could not compromise and were compelled to bring this question before the membership meeting at which 200 members were present. By the way, the council is working on a membership basis, ten cents a month entitling each person to take part in all the activities of the council. Even the opponents appealed to the members to remember the traditional segregation and Jim-Crow laws regarding the Negroes. An overwhelming majority voted to allow Negroes to come to the council. We were greatly surprised, since the South is noted for its

hatred towards the Negroes. We attributed this success to our daily propaganda meeting which enlighten the workers on all questions concerning the class struggle.

The defeat of the reactionaries embittered them so that they launched another attack against us. This time the attack was directly aimed at the influence of the "Reds." They demanded that the propaganda be eliminated entirely and that we should devote all our energies to feeding the people. Naturally, we would not submit to these demands and again the executive committee was divided, five to four with the conservative elements in the minority. We had to bring this question before the general meeting.

Being doubtful of victory, the conservative elements made secret plans with a religious sect to provide quarters and food in the event of a split. About 350 workers were present at the meeting and also a squad of secret police at the invitation of the conservative element. The question before the meeting was whether the membership should accept the policies of the majority of the executive committee, consisting of the radicals, or the policies of the minority, who were the conservatives. Two representatives of the radicals and two of the conservatives discussed the question and the conservatives warned the workers that if they would follow the radicals they would not have a soup kitchen any longer. Three hundred out of 350 endorsed the policies of the radical group and shouted: "We don't want a soup kitchen. We want a fighting organization. We are going with the Reds." The handful of conservatives left the hall. The vacancies on the executive committee were filled with new members one of whom is a very capable Negro worker.

The conservatives now went around spreading rumors that our organization was Communist and they brought pressure on the landlord to force us to move. They secured credentials from the Chief of Police stating that they were the proper organization to be helped and that our council should not be recognized. With these credentials they went to the merchants of the city, thereby cutting off our source of supply.

Being unable to obtain free food, we were compelled to adopt other methods of carrying on the work. We have now formed a Workers Cooperative One Cent Cafeteria in conjunction with the Unemployed Council.

Now back to the activities of the council. We have done the following. We have divided the city into eight sections and have appointed organizers for each section. We will, in this way, be able to approach the entire unemployed population of San Antonio. We will send you reports from time to time as the activities develop further.

SEND-OFF

for the national organizers of
the Communist Opposition
who are leaving N. Y.

DANCE

SUNDAY EVE., MARCH 5

at the

NEW HEADQUARTERS

51 West 14th Street

— Admission: 25¢ —



THE MODERN MONTHLY, edited by V. F. Calverton. No. 1 (February 1933) and No. 2 (March 1933).

To judge it by its first two issues, the "Modern Monthly" has not yet succeeded in reaching the extraordinarily high standard set by the final three numbers of the "Modern Quarterly" of which it is the successor. Perhaps there is something in the very nature of a monthly (the demand for "popularity", the restrictions as to size of articles, etc.) which precludes the attainment of such a level, but I do not think so. At any rate, it seems to me that in these two issues, the "Modern Monthly" has fallen short of its possibilities, even recognizing the inherent limitations (if any) of a monthly publication.

The editorial statement of policy ("For a New America") in the first number suffers from some vagueness in the definition of objectives; there is a tendency, too, to confuse the occupational category of "professional workers" with the social category of "intellectuals". But this vagueness in formulation is soon dissipated in the editorial practise itself, in the character and approach of the leading articles.

The chief shortcoming of the magazine so far, it seems to me, is its failure to come to grips with certain problems that demand treatment in a journal of such a character. Technocracy is brushed aside in a positively scandalous article by Murray Godwin; no attempt is made to examine the background, the historical roots or the implications of this social cult. Fascism, a current problem of major importance, is not even mentioned. The labor movement is not considered at all. Nor do the theoretical foundations of Marxism receive adequate attention in a journal conducted in its spirit.

The second important shortcoming of the magazine is its readiness to publish very mediocre stuff provided it is associated with a "big" name. Sherwood Anderson's "A Plan", Havelock Ellis's "Paul Verlaine", Carelton Beals's "Fats, Oil and Greases" are surely nothing to get excited about but if the "Modern Monthly" is to fulfil its mission, everything in it must be something to get excited about! It requires a certain amount of ruthlessness to carry thru such a policy but it simply must be done!

These shortcomings, however, are more than counterbalanced by the positively first-rate material in the first two numbers. Calverton's analysis of American liberalism ("Backward March: The Liberal Command") is really brilliant, essentially new and profoundly significant. B. D. Wolfe's "The Mass As Hero" is a splendid example of the Marxist treatment of literature and should teach those who need the lesson that Marxist criticism is not simply the mouthing of slogans. Sidney Hook begins a series of very valuable studies of the Young Hegelians. Louis Hacker contributes a careful and significant study of the American farmer ("The Farmer Is Doomed"). Sterling Spero's "Will Teachers Learn?" is a challenging analysis. But where is Lewis Corey?—he is sorely missed indeed.

The "Modern Monthly" is already the outstanding and most influential radical magazine in this country and it deserves this position. But it can and must go further; thru critical self-analysis it can overcome its present shortcomings and fill the place that the "Modern Quarterly" won for itself in the last year of its existence.

X. Y. Z.